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ABSTRACT

This report is one in a series on the socioeconomic conditions of rural people within selected areas of the United States. Data were obtained by personal interviews with 1,413 sample household heads residing in the rural parts of the Ozarks region of Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma. The findings indicate that the morale of the poor was lower than that of the nonpoor. The rural poor apparently did not use organizational resources to attempt to alter their lives, especially in terms of formal group membership. The findings also indicate that the adult poor wanted their children to improve themselves. Fewer of the migrant children of the lower-income than of the upper-income household heads held high occupational status just prior to migration, just after migration, or at the time of the interview. Other findings point to the perpetuation of rural proverty from one generation to another. In terms of occupational status differences between generations, the impoverished household heads, when compared with their fathers, gained virtually no ground, while the non-impoverished household heads gained considerable ground. The migration of youth did not necessarily mean an improvement in occupational status; in fact, in contrast to the migrant children of upper-income household heads, the migrant children of lower-income household heads lost occupational status ground after migrating from the community in which they were reared. The findings indicate that the vast majority of sons of lower-income fathers actually attained an occupational status which was higher in prestige than the most prestigeous occupational position of their father. (Author/DB)

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RURAL POVERTY AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE OZARKS

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ABSTRACT

This report is one in a series on the socio-economic conditions of rural people within selected areas of the United States. Data for the report were obtained by personal interviews with 1,413 sample household heads residing in the rural parts of the Ozarks region of Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma. The Kansas portion of the Ozarks Economic Development Region was not included since it became a formal part of the Region after the study data were collected. The results, which focus on the general relationship between poverty and social mobility, provide a basis for understanding how poverty is perpetuated from one generation to another. The findings indicate the morale of the poor was lower than that of the nonpoor. Especially in terms of formal group membership, the rural poor apparently did not use organizational resources to attempt to alter their lives. The findings also indicate that the adult poor wanted their children to improve themselves. Yet, these adults were found to lack the educational or occupational status of their more affluent counterparts. Thus, the children of the poor were less prepared than were the children of the nonpoor to run the competitive race which life entails. It was no surprise to find that less of the migrant children of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads held high occupational status just prior to migration, just after migration, or at the time of the interview. Other findings point to the perpetuation of rural poverty from one generation to another. For instance, in terms of occupational status differences between generations the impoverished household heads, when compared to their fathers, gained virtually no ground while the non-impoverished household heads gained considerable ground. Also, the migration of youth did not necessarily mean an improvement in occupational status; indeed, in contrast to the migrant children of upper-income household heads, the migrant children of lower-income household heads lost occupational status ground since migrating from the local community in which they were reared. A comparison of the father's highest occupational position-to-date with the current occupational status of migrant sons (25 years of age or over) presents a different picture: the findings indicated that the vast majority of sons of lower-income fathers actually attained an occupational status which was higher in prestige than the most prestigeous occupational position of their father. Thus, although few migrant sons of low-income fathers obtained a high occupational position, most did surpass their father's highest position.

Key Words: Poverty, social mobility, human resources, income, education, morale, employment, Ozarks region, rural areas, tabular analysis, primary survey, cross-sectional, migration, migrant sons, educational need. status projections, programs.

PREFACE

This report is part of a series of reports on conditions of poverty among rural people within selected areas of the United States. Study areas for these reports include the Ozarks, the Mississippi Delta, and the Coastal Plain of South Carolina.*

Some reports on the Ozarks region have examined rural housing conditions. Another report presented findings on the interrelationships between family income, age, education, training, employment, aspirations, and other attributes of the rural population. This report on the Ozarks region has a general focus on factors related to rural poverty and to social mobility.** It presents findings on the interrelationships between family income and attributes such as the morale of household heads and spouses; the membership, attendance, committee membership, and office-holding of the household heads and spouses; the leisure-time or informal group activity of the household heads and spouses; the willingness of household heads to seek more education or different employment; the migration of children; the status projections of children; the educational attainment of household heads, spouses, and of the children; the occupational attainment of the household heads, the fathers of household heads, and of the migrant children of the household heads; and the inter-generational occupational mobility of the migrant sons (25 years of age or over).

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Dr. Rex R. Campbell, Professor of Rural Sociology, Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri, shared the planning and field work with Herbert Hoover and Bernal L. Green, Agricultural Economists, Economic Development Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, stationed at the Universities of Missouri and Arkansas respectively, Mrs. Jean Everling, Department of Rural Soicology, University of Missouri, was supervisor for the field work.

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*For a list of other publications and papers in the series, see the BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RELATED WORK.

**This report is an extension and revision of Wayne H. Oberle's "Socio-Economic Status Differences in Parental Values, Educational Attainment, and Occupational Mobility; Poverty in the Ozark Region," unpublished dissertation, University of Missouri, Columbia, August, 1969.

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HIGHLIGHTS

This report is one in a series on the socio-economic condition of rural people within selected areas of the United States. The rural parts of the Ozarks region of Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma comprise the study area for this report, and 1,413 sample household heads provided information. One set of findings indicated that although the poor household heads and spouses had lower morale than did household heads and spouses who were not poor, the magnitude of the differences was relatively small. Other results showed that the poor were less active in formal and informal activities than were the more affluent. Another set of findings revealed that the rural poor, despite their willingness to improve their educational, occupational, and economic statuses, were subject to many structural conditions over which they had little or no control.

In terms of selected characteristics of the children of household heads and spouses, several patterns are noteworthy: (1) more of the children of the lowest-income than of the children of the highest-income household heads permanently migrated from the community within the last 10 years, dating from 1955; (2) although more of the upper- than of the lower-income household heads thought that their children needed to finish college, most of the former thought that their children needed to go to college and 30 percent thought that their children needed to finish college; (3) fathers of migrant children placed more importance upon their children's education than did fathers of non-migrant children; (4) lower-income household heads had lower educational expectations of their children than did upper-income household heads; (5) the children of lower-income household heads had lower occupational aspirations than did the children of upper-income household heads; (6) fewer of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads had high occupational expectations for their children. An analysis of the relationship between poverty and selected indicators of home-school linkages showed that, except for the purchase of books, being poor was unrelated to the parents' orientation toward the school or learning of their children.

The poor had less education than did the nonimpoverished. This relationship was more pronounced among household heads and members who were 25 years of age or over. The relationship was even more pronounced when non-household heads were excluded from the analysis. It also held when the sex and age of the household heads and spouses were taken into account.

Several patterns were illuminated by a focus on the linkage between the educational attainment of selected groups and selected status projections: (1) virtually all of the fathers of one or more migrant children wanted their children to complete considerably more education than they had completed themselves; (2) the father's orientation toward his children's educational need was clearly related to the actual educational attainment of the migrant children who were

25 years of age or over; (3) there also were positive linkages between educational expectations and occupational aspirations on the one hand and the actual educational attainment of the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, on the other; and (4) in contrast with the three other status projections, the occupational expectations that fathers expressed regarding their children's occupational aspirations were not related to the educational attainment of the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over.

Fewer of the poor household heads than of the more affluent household heads held higher occupational status. At least in terms of occupational status differences between generations, the impoverished household heads gained virtually no ground while the nonimpoverished household heads gained considerable ground. Less of the migrant children of lower- than of upper-income household heads held high occupational status at the following points in time: just prior to migration, just after migration, and at the time of the interview. The permanent migration of youth from the locality did not necessarily mean an improvement of occupational status: A comparison of the percentage of lower- and upper-income migrant children with high occupational status just prior to migration and at the time of the interview indicates that the former group experienced a one percent loss and the latter group experienced a 16 percent gain from the former to the latter point in time. Although no relationship existed between the socio-economic status of household heads and the present occupational status of the migrant children when the latter's age and sex were taken into account, tri-generational analysis showed that the lower-income migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, gained considerably less occupational status ground than did their upper-income counterparts.

Although there was only a slight association between the amount of education parents thought their children needed and the present occupational status of the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, this observation does not necessarily mean that educational need was not important in the status attainment process; however, the educational attainment of the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, was related to educational need but not to the socio-economic status of the household heads. These findings collectively permit the interpretation that educational need was closely linked to educational attainment but not to occupational attainment. Completing high school was comparatively much more important to the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, than was the socio-economic status of one's parents, although the latter was certainly not irrelevant.

A comparison of the father's highest occupational position-to-date with the current occupational status of migrant sons (25 years of age or over) presents a different picture: the findings indicated that the vast majority of sons of lower-income fathers actually attained an occupational status which was higher in prestige than the most prestigeous occupational position of their father. Thus, although few migrant sons of lower-income fathers obtained a high occupational position, most did surpass their father's highest position.

RURAL POVERTY AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE OZARKS

By

Wayne H. Oberle [1]

INTRODUCTION

To appreciate the apparent success of America's long-term bout with poverty, one need look only at the long way America has come in its short history.[2] Although most American families today have access to the good things in life, this was not always so. Only a short time ago in the span of history, settlers came to these shores with very little. Although the fruits of their efforts are now taken for granted, they were purchased at a price. That is, their acts of courage and faith reflect the national characteristics--industriousness combined with frugality, a respect for learning, a willingness to take chances, and a mobile social system--which, with other factors, promoted our phenomenal economic growth.

Although poverty existed in the United States over 100 years ago, it was not until about 100 years ago that it was regarded as a social rather than an individual problem. The Civil War marked the shift in the prevalent American attitude toward poverty. In the pre-Civil War period, the prevalent American attitude was that a man's misfortunes were his own affair and that society could or should do little about them--if a man could not find his niche, he had no one

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[2] This section borrows heavily from Poverty: American Style, edited by Herman P. Miller, Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1966, pp. 1-5.

to blame but himself. This view could develop and be maintained only in a predominantly rural society with an abundance of unoccupied good land. Industrialization after the Civil War was accompanied by many social evils (e.g., poor housing, low wages), which, in turn, led to many major social reforms aimed at these ills. It is important to note that programs enacted during the thirties were aimed at relief whereas the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was, in the words of President Kennedy, aimed at "rehabilitation and not relief." Thus, it was felt that the poor themselves must be changed if they are to be brought into the mainstream of American life.

Until very recently, the rural poor, the aged poor, and even the hillbillies in Appalachia and the Ozarks could not arouse the nation to their urgent needs: they continued to suffer year after year in quiet desperation while their children were poorly educated, while they lived in shacks, and while they suffered awesome indignities of body, mind, and spirit. Meanwhile, it was generally recognized that although most Americans may be in control of their destinies, this is not necessarily true on an individual or group basis. The very recent scrapping of the Office of Economic Opportunity anti-poverty programs indicates that, once again, poverty is not recognized as a societal problem. Nevertheless, the findings presented in this monograph (1) indicate that the rural poor, despite substantial effort, cannot escape poverty and (2) present information about selected aspects of the general relationship between poverty and social

mobility which could be used to dete mine how the lives of the poor in the rural Ozarks might be changed.

The continued but relatively unnoticed prevalence of rural poverty throughout the nation is succinctly noted in the summary of The People Left Behind:[3/]

1. "This report is about a problem which many in the United States do not realize exists. The problem is rural poverty. Rural poverty is so widespread, and so acute, as to be a national disgrace, and its consequences have swept into our cities, violently...
2. In contrast to the urban poor, the rural poor, notably the white, are not well organized, and have few spokesmen for bringing the Nation's attention to their problems. The more vocal and better organized urban poor gain most of the benefits of current anti-poverty programs...
3. Because we have been oblivious of the rural poor, we have abetted both rural and urban poverty, for the two are closely linked through migration...
4. The Commission recommends that the United States adopt and put into effect immediately a national policy designed to give residents of rural America equality of opportunity."

Although many people are not aware of a rural "poverty" problem, poverty is clearly prevalent in the largely rural Ozarks region: the per capita income of Ozarks residents was $1,233 in 1959. Despite the prevalence of poverty, it may not be obvious in that the region is similar to many others characterized by: (1) the displacement of labor in agriculture and through technological change and structural reorganization; (2) a net outmigration of new labor force entrants who are young and well-trained; and (3) a population left behind which

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[3/] President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, op. cit., pp. ix-xii.

has a high proportion of older and/or retired persons.[4/] While the passage of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and the establishment of the Ozarks Regional Development Commission to coordinate efforts to improve the Ozarks economy may be interpreted as indications of increased concern for the well-being of people residing in the Ozarks,[5/] these commendable efforts may not ever be received as direct, tangible benefits by the thousands of individuals who eke out a day-to-day existence in the Ozarks.

KEY CONCEPTS

Poverty is more than inadequate income.[6/] Several additional points made in The People Left Behind help support this general idea:[7/]

1. "'Poverty' is a controversial word. Not everyone agrees on what it means. This applies to experts as well as to laymen. In the opinion of the Commission, poverty is partly inadequate income, but it goes much deeper than that. Poverty affects the mind and the spirit as well.

[4/] Hoover and Green, op. cit., p. 1, ff. 3, in a more detailed discussion of these and related factors, state that in 52 of the 125 counties comprising the region, 100 percent of the families were classified rural by the 1960 Population.

[5/] Public Law 89-136, 89th Congress, S.1648, August 26, 1965; Hoover and Green, op. cit., p. 2.

[6/] The definition of poverty developed by Orshansky, called the Social Security Administration definition, is the basis for the definitions currently used. It is based on the USDA diet cost multiplied by 3 and adjusted for changes in the consumer price index. See Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," in Louis A. Ferman (ed.) Poverty in America, Ann Arbor; The University of Michigan Press, 1965, pp. 42-81.

[7/] President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, op. cit., p. 7.

2. Income is important in escaping from poverty, though not the whole answer. Education and jobs are also essential, and they can lead to higher income...
3. But poverty is much more:

   It is lack of access to respected positions in society, and lack of power to do anything about it. It is insecurity and unstable homes. It is a wretched existence that tends to perpetuate itself from one generation to the next.
4. Low income is widely used as an index of poverty; the number of low income people is taken as the number of poor, though this may be an oversimplification. The poverty line is the minimum level of income needed to provide the kind of living that our society considers a basic human right.
5. Opinions as to where the poverty line really is, or should be, have changed as America has become more prosperous and more highly urbanized. Our standard of what is an adequate income for the poor will probably rise."

Thus, knowledge of the number or percentage of families or individuals that have an income below the poverty line indicates little. if anything, about (1) how the family and individual attributes of the poor differ from those of the non-poor or (2) why the children of the poor have lower levels of educational and occupational attainment than do children of the nonpoor.

This study attempts to contribute to such knowledge and understanding by examining the interrelationship between household income and family size (hereafter referred to as socio-economic status) on the one hand and status orientation and status attainment of selected household members on the other. More specifically, attention is directed at the link between socio-economic status and, (1) the morale of household heads and spouses, (2) the amount of education household heads think their children need (hereafter called educational need), (3) the educational attainment of various household

members, and (4) the occupational attainment of the household head, his father, and of his migrant children.[8/] Special emphasis is placed on examining whether low-income parents who value the educational need of their children actually have one or more children who migrate and attain higher educational and occupational statuses than did one or both of their parents.

The attempt to define the concept social mobility is beset with fewer problems than the attempt to define poverty. Lipset and Bendix's definition of the social mobility concept reduces the magnitude of the problem:[9/]

> "...The process by which an individual moves from one position to another in society -- positions which by general consent have been given hierarchial values. When we study social mobility, we analyze the movement of individuals from positions possessing a certain rank to positions either higher or lower in the system."

Conceptual clarity is also enhanced by conceptualizing the individual as a goal-seeker as well as a status-seeker, especially because the individual may seek personal experiences that do not have any immediate

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[8/] Educational need is a sub-concept of the concept, facilitating or acquisitional valuation. I propose that the latter concept, defined as a person's estimation of the relevance of his or another person's use of a specific means to attain a given goal, complements the other and following revised components of the conceptual apparatus associated with the area commonly called the status projectsion or orientations of youth: (1) a value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable (not of the desired) which influences the selection of a specific mean or means for the anticipated attainment of a given goal (end) or goals; (2) an aspiration is a person's perception of a given goal (end) wanted by himself or by another person; and (3) an expectation is a person's estimation of the probability that he or another person will attain a given goal.

[9/] Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964, pp. 1-2.

consequence in any social structure.[10/] The following assumptions help identify the individual as a decision-maker in a society where structural barriers such as the income of one's parents can be taken into account:[11/] (1) the individual actor has goals (or ends) and his actions (or behavior) are usually directed toward the pursuit of them; (2) action often involves the selection of specific means for the attainment of specific goals; (3) the individual makes certain assumptions about the nature of his goals and the possibility and/or probability of their attainment; (4) behavior is influenced not only by the situation but by the individual's knowledge of it; (5) the individual has certain sentiments, emotions, or affective dispositions which affect both his perception of situations and his choice of goals; (6) the individual has values which influence his selection of goals and his ranking or ordering of them in some scheme of priorities (or hierarchy); (7) the more choice an individual has among various alternatives, the greater the possibility of, and need for, a strategy of action; where there is little choice, either because of the structure of society or because of the limits of technical possibility, then strategies of action are less relevant and (8) social

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10/ For a more detailed explication of this and other comments presented in the latter part of this paragraph, see Wayne H. Oberle and Rex R. Campbell, "What is An 'Occupational Choice'?" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Jacksonville, Florida, 1971; and Wayne H. Oberle, "On the Conceptualization of an Occupational Choice," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Denver, Colorado, August, 1971.

11/ These and related assumptions were originally listed and discussed in Albert K. Cohen and Harold M. Hodges, Jr., "Characteristics of the Lower-Blue-Collar Class," Social Problems, Vol. 10 (Spring) 1963, pp. 303-334.

situations involve social control (constraint) and/or audience performance as well as two or more individuals who are selecting means and/or goals from sets of alternatives.

Although assertions of an actual culture of poverty are common, the description of rural poverty is less prevalent. Rev. A.J. McKnight, of Louisiana, who testified at a hearing before the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, made the following assertion:[12/]

> "Many of the undeveloped people have developed a culture of poverty...The poor think differently; they have a different sense of values...Take the concept of education: to the middle class it stands for the road to better things for one's children and one's self. To the poor it is an obstacle course to be surmounted until the children can go to work...
>
> The poor tend to be fatalistic and pessimistic because for them there is no future; everything is today. They do not postpone satisfactions. When pleasure is available, they tend to take it immediately. They do not save, because for them there is no tommorrow.
>
> The smug theorist of the middle class would probably deplore this as showing a lack of traditional American virtues. Actually, it is the logical and natural reaction of a people living without hope, without a future."

[12/] Ibid, p. 8.

No serious attempt to conceptualize the relationship between poverty and mobility in any social system can afford to ignore the process of socialization. Following Clausen:[13/]

> "Most simply, the study of socialization focuses upon the development of the individual as a social being and participant in society...As a process, socialization entails a continuing interaction between the individual and those who seek to influence him, an interaction that undergoes many phases and changes."

Viewed differently, the purpose of socialization is human transformation--the alteration or transformation of human raw material of society not only into "good working members"[14/] but also self-fulfilled human beings. It is noteworthy that socialization involves the mutual efforts of participants in all sorts of relationships (peer group, courtship, marriage, work group) to establish stable expectations as well as the efforts of society's formally designated socialization agents (parents, teachers, elders, preachers) to transfer and secure adherence to existing norms.[15/] Thus, social situations entail more than the concern for goals and means. They also include rewards

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[13/] See John A. Clausen (ed.), Socialization and Society, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1968, p.3.

[14/] See Orville G. Brim, Jr. and Stanton Wheeler, Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1966:25.

[15/] Clausen, op. cit., p. 6.

(intrinsic and extrinsic) and sanctions. In brief, cultural elements such as norms, rewards, and sanctions--usually introduced through the interaction process--affect the seemingly - obvious direct relationship between inadequate income and status attainment.

The present analysis examines the linkage between socio-economic status (ie.e, family income and size) on the one hand and two common indicators associated with the status attainment process -- educational attainment and occupational attainment — on the other. One's educational status and/or occupational status can be viewed as ends or goals toward which the values and/or behavior of the individual seeking to effect upward mobility are directed.[16/] Assuming the relevance of this viewpoint, the process of attaining a high educational status can be viewed as a means to upward social mobility in general and to upward occupational mobility in particular.[17/] Thus, the attainment of high occupational status can be viewed as an end which achievement-oriented individuals pursue.

The present analysis also examines the relationship between the parents' orientation toward their children's educational need on the one hand and the educational and occupational attainment of migrant

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16/ This is only one viewpoint. For example, an individual who is status- rather than achievement-oriented may obtain a particular educational status and/or maintain a particular occupational status only as a means to earning an income adequate to support his non-work activity.

17/ This is not to imply that other means such as entertainment or athletics would not be as effective as would attaining an education.

children on the other. This focus, which complements recent observations that significant others' influence both the educational and occupational attainment of youth,[18] at least facilitates an answer to the question of whether there is a positive relationship between the amount of education the low-income parents think their children need and the actual attainment of high educational and occupational statuses by one or more of their children.

TYPOLOGY OF POVERTY

The definition of poverty developed for the ERS typology of poverty studies not only viewed poverty as relative rather than as absolute, but also incorporated the number of individuals in the household as one of its main criteria (Table 1).[19] This definition, which made allowances for differences in family income, suggested five socio-economic categories: serious poverty, poverty, marginal,

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[18] A.O. Haller, "Research Problems on the Occupational Achievement Levels of Farm-Reared People," Rural Sociology 23 (Dec., 1958), p. 355; Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964; William H. Sewell, Archibald O. Haller, and George W. Ohlendorf, "The Educational and Early Occupational Status Attainment Process: Replication and Revision," American Sociological Review, 35 (December, 1970), pp. 1014-1017; William H. Sewell, Archibald O. Haller, and Alejandro Portes, "The Educational and Early Occupational Attainment Process," American Sociological Review, 34 (February, 1969), pp. 82-92; and Joseph Woelfel, "Significant Others and Their Role Relationships to Students in a High School Population." Rural Sociology, 37 (March, 1972), pp. 86-97.

[19] The poverty definitions developed for the typology of poverty studies have been widely used in Economic Research Service studies in the Ozarks, Delta, Coastal Plains, and the East North Central States. For a presentation of the socio-economic status of household heads and spouses by current monthly net income of their occupational status, see Appendix, Tables I and II, respectively.

probably not in poverty, and definitely not in poverty.[20] It was this seemingly more inclusive definition of poverty which, as an index of the socio-economic status of the household head or any other member of the household, was used as a basis for the present analysis. Subsequent references to socio-economic status are based on this typology of poverty.[21]

STUDY AREA

The purpose of this paragraph is to define several concepts which help describe the population and the study area.[22] Whereas the term rural includes households located on farms, in the open country, and in towns up to 2,500 population, a household was defined as an occupied dwelling unit. The population was defined as head of households, exclusive if institutional or military persons, in the rural portions of the Ozarks region. The head of household was defined as the individual who usually earned most of the money that

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[20] As used here, the conceptual referent of the term is primarily satistical rather than social--nothing is presumed or asserted about the power or authority structure of the household or family. This is not to say that the statistical kind of grouping is not empirically related to the social kind of grouping; see Robert Bierstead, The Social Order: An Introduction to Sociology, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963, pp. 293-301.

[21] Although this definition does not make allowances for age, sex, and residence of the head, the relationship between socio-economic status and these and other selected bio-social variables are presented in Hoover and Green, op. cit.

[22] Aside from the definitions, this section largely follows Hoover and Green, op. cit., pp. 2-4.

Figure One

OZARKS

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGION, 1966

supported the family and/or who made most of the family decisions.

The rural parts of the 125 counties in the Ozarks region comprise the study area (Figure 1). In 1960, there were an estimated 780,415 occupied dwelling units in the region. Seventeen percent were categorized as farm, 41 percent as rural non-farm, and 42 percent, urban.[23/] Thus, the rural parts accounted for, at the most, 58 percent of the occupied dwelling units. Moreover, the actual percentage at the time of the study in 1966 was probably closer to 50 percent.

SAMPLING PROCEDURE

A stratified block sampling was used to select 1,500 households. Stratification was done (1) by grouping the 125 counties in the region from low to high by per capita income of inhabitants, 1960, and by (2) dividing the array of counties into three income strata.[24/] Clustering was done (1) by selecting nine sample counties from each of the three state portions of the sample area for a total of 27 sample counties -- three counties were selected from each income stratum within each state portion of the sample area, and (2) by subsampling four survey townships from each of the 27 counties. Sampling blocks

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[23/] United States Census of Housing, 1960, State and Small Areas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, HC(1) Nos. 5, 25, and 38.

[24/] The rationale for such stratification is that variables within each stratum are more homogeneous than are those for the population as a whole.

were then drawn in order to select the households to be interviewed.[25] The probability of selection was weighted by the number of occupied rural dwelling units in counties and townships, respectively.[26]

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND MORALE

Although the findings indicated that the nonpoor household heads and spouses had higher morale than did the poor household heads and spouses, the magnitude of the differences on specific morale items were relatively minor (Tables 2 - 15).[27] Two specific findings are noteworthy: (1) that over 90 percent of both upper- and lower-income household heads and spouses either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, "Any man with ability and willingness to work hard has a good chance of being successful." (Tables 4 and 5); and (2) that slightly more lower-income than upper-income household heads and spouses either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, "One can plan the future so things come out right in the long run." (Tables 6 and 7). Thus, the findings do not support McKnight's statement that the poor are pessimistic.

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[25] Hoover and Green, op. cit., p. 4, note that the preenumeration estimate of the number of rural households in the region was 451,000; thus, the predetermined sample of 1,500 households yielded a sampling rate of 0.33 percent.

[26] Because the sample units are more concentrated geographically, this sampling procedure is less expensive than a simple random sampling procedure whereby all the rural dwelling units in the region are listed and then 1,500 households are selected at random.

[27] The items used to measure morale are presented in the Tables.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Theoretically, the more regularly a person interacts with other individuals or other objects providing information, the more opportunity he would have to learn values and behavior different than his own. Similarly, organizations may enable a person to do something he would otherwise not have the resources to do. Since social interaction occurs in both formal and informal settings, a person may interact more frequently in one type of setting than in the other. Although previous research has generally documented a positive relationship between socioeconomic status and various indicators of formal interaction, less is known about the relationship between socioeconomic status and various indicators of informal interaction or exposure to impersonal sources of information.[28/]

This study found that, in comparison to upper-income household heads, lower-income household heads (1) belong to fewer organizations (Table 16, Appendix Table III)[29/] (2) attend organizational activities

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[28/] For a detailed discussion of the general lack of explicit conceptual definitions in this area, see James E. Teele, "An Appraisal of Research on Social Participation," The Sociological Quarterly Vol. 6 (Summer); pp. 257-267; an important exception to this generalization is Clinton J. Jesser, "Social Participation of Professionals in Rural Areas," The Sociological Quarterly Vol. 11 (December); pp. 686-698.

[29/] Formal group membership was measured by asking the respondent to indicate whether he belonged to any formal groups in each of the following categories: church, church-related, Lions, Rotary, Lodge, labor, farm, political, community or neighborhood, veterans, or other groups. Based on two points for each type of formal group membership score and one point for not belonging to each type of formal group, a formal group membership score was computed for each individual. Two

less frequently,[30] (3) belonged to fewer organizational committees,[31] (4) held fewer organizational offices, and (5) participated less frequently in informal activities.[32] Especially in terms of formal group membership, the rural poor apparently did not have access to organizational resources to attempt to alter their lives.

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categories were established: (1) low, which included scores 11 and 12, and (2) high, which included scores 13-22. For a specification of the types of groups household heads and spouses join, see Appendix Table III. For an example of research which found a positive relationship between socioeconomic status and organizational membership, see Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, Vol. 23 (June): pp. 284-294.

[30] The respondent was also handed a card on which was printed the following responses: 1 = never, 2 = rarely, 3 = occasionally, 4 = fairly often, and 5 = frequently or regularly. He then was asked how frequently he attended activities of each of the above-mentioned types of formal groups. Using the above five integers, a formal group activity attendance score was computed. Two categories were established: (1) low, for scores 11-19, and (2) high, for scores 20-55. Information regarding the frequency that household heads and spouses participate in each of selected types of informal group activities or events is presented in Appendix Table VII. See Appendix Table IV for a representation of the frequency that household heads and spouses attend each of various types of organizations.

[31] The respondent was also asked whether he was (1) a committee member or (2) an officer in each of the above types of formal groups. Based on two points for a "yes" and one point for a "no" response, separate formal group committee membership and formal group office-holding scores were computed for each respondent. The low and high categories for both variables were identical to those used with the formal group activity attendance scores. See Appendix Table V for a presentation of the committee membership of household heads and spouses in each of various types of organizations. For a presentation of data relating to the office-holding of household heads and spouses, see Appendix Table VI.

[32] Frequency of attending informal activities was measured by asking the respondent how frequently he attended fairs, listened to radio or watched television, visited with friends and relatives (other than organized activities), read newspaper, went to the movies, went

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND THE WILLINGNESS TO SEEK MORE EDUCATION, TO MIGRATE, OR TO FIND DIFFERENT EMPLOYMENT

In comparison to upper-income household heads and spouses, lower-income household heads and spouses were more willing to take courses for pay (Tables 17 and 18). The study also found that lower-income household heads had more work experience for their present (or last) occupational status (Table 19), and that more lower- than upper-income household heads worked between 41 and 60 hours per week (Table 20). The general willingness of the poor to attempt to improve themselves was also indicated by the finding that more of the lower- than of the upper-income respondents indicated an interest in changing to another type of job at higher pay if they could continue to live in the same community (Table 21). The results also showed that more of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads who were not interested in changing to another type of job at higher pay (if they could live in the same community) gave the reason that they were disabled, too old to make the change, or were retired (Table 22).

The study also found (1) that 88 percent of the poor were interested in changing to a job that would pay less than $100 a week (Table 23), (2) that fewer lower- than upper-income household heads

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dancing, visited over the phone attended formal sports events such as football games, used public recreation facilities such as parks, went bowling, went fishing or hunting, went golfing, or engaged in any other activites. Based on the same response-point assignment used for measuring frequency of attending formal group activities, an informal group activity attendance score was computed for each respondent. Scores 13-32 were designated low and scores 33-65 were designated high.

were willing to commute over 30 miles to get a job that would pay less than $100 a week (Table 24), and (3) that slightly more of the poor than the non-poor household heads had not looked for work out of the county during the last 10 years (Table 25).

The above findings indicate that the rural poor, despite their willingness to improve their educational, occupational, and economic statuses, are subject to many structural conditions over which they have little or no control. In many cases the rural poor are also hampered by being disabled, too old, or being sick. These findings lend little, if any, support to popular notions about the laziness of poor people. Indeed, in some instances lower-income household heads exhibited more willingness to "improve their lot in life" than did upper-income household heads.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND MIGRATION OF THE CHILDREN

If poverty is an inter-generational phenomenon, then the migration of children from a low-income region with limited educational and occupational opportunities may be viewed as a means to obtain a higher level of living (Table 26).

More children of households in serious poverty than children of households definitely not in poverty had permanently migrated from the community within the last 10 years. Just as low-income household heads definitely tried to improve themselves, the children of impoverished household heads were not unwilling to migrate from the community in order to attempt to improve their lot in life.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND STATUS PROJECTIONS OF THE CHILDREN

Although fewer lower- than upper-income household heads thought that their children needed to at least go to college, several specific findings are noteworthy.[33/] First, only five percent of the lower-income household heads with children at home thought that their children did not need to at least finish high school (Table 27).[34/] Second, over half of the lower-income household heads with children at home thought that their children needed to go to college. Third, 30 percent of the lower-income household heads with children at home thought that their children needed to finish college. Despite the fact that the poor had little education themselves, it is obvious that lower-income household heads with children at home thought that it was important for their children to at least finish high school.

The findings show that fewer lower- than upper-income fathers of one or more migrant children (25 years of age or over) thought that their children needed to at least go to college (Table 28). A close examination of these two findings indicates that, in contrast to fathers with children at home, fathers of migrant children (25 years

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33/ Two assumptions are made: (1) that the socioeconomic status of the households had not changed substantially since the last migrant child permanently migrated from the community, and (2) that status projections related to the children (i.e. oldest son or oldest daughter who is still in school) at home are the same or similar to those related to the children of the same family who have already migrated.

34/ The item used to measure educational need was: "How much education do you think your children need to get along well in the world?"

of age or over) have--virtually regardless of socioeconomic status--a fairly homogeneous orientation toward their children's educational need.

Forty-one and 81 percent of the lower- and upper-income fathers expected the oldest son who was still in school to actually obtain any post-high school education (Table 29).[35/] Nevertheless, only seven percent and two percent of the lower- and upper-income respondents expected that the oldest son who was still in school would not finish high school. The findings were similar for the oldest daughter who was still in school: Forty percent of the lower- and 74 percent of the upper-income household heads expected their oldest daughter who was still in school to obtain at least some post-high school education (Table 30). Only seven percent of the lower- and one percent of the upper-income household heads expected that the oldest daughter who was still in school would not finish high school. Although the lower-income respondents held lower educational expectations for their oldest son or their oldest daughter (who was still in school) than did the upper-income respondents, the difference was slight at the "some college" level. For example, 12 and 14 percent of the lower- and upper-income household heads expected that their oldest daughter (who was still in school) would obtain some college. Thus, for both the oldest son and the oldest daughter who were still

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35/ All respondents who had a son or daughter in school were asked, "How much education do you expect your oldest son (oldest daughter) who is still in school to get?"

in school, lower-income household heads were quite optimistic about the child's actual educational attainment.

Since getting an education is even viewed by the poor as an important means to upward occupational mobility, it is important to know whether socioeconomic status is also related to the occupational aspirations and expectations of the oldest sons and oldest daughters who were still in school.[36/] The findings indicated that twice as many of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads had an oldest son who was still in school who wanted to obtain a professional or managerial type of occupational status (Table 31). On the other hand, more of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads hand an oldest son who was still in school who wanted to become a craftsman, foreman, or operator. In contrast to the substantial difference between the occupational aspirations of the oldest sons (still in school) of lower- and upper-income household heads, the oldest daughters (still in school) of lower-income household heads had only slightly lower occupational aspirations than did the oldest daughters (still in school) of upper-income household heads (Table 32). It is also noteworhty that, in comparison to the oldest sons (who were still in school) the oldest daughters were more interested in professional, managerial, clerical or service occupations.

36/ Each household head who had a son or daughter in school was asked, "What kind of work does he (she) want to go into?" Note that the respondent was not being asked to make a value judgement about a status aspiration or expectation. Rather he was simply being asked to provide information about the status projection of a person with whom he is familar--his own child.

The findings indicate that fewer of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads thought that the oldest son (who was still in school) had either an excellent or good chance of getting into the occupation to which the latter aspired (Table 33).[37/] Just as the oldest daughters (still in school) had higher occupational aspirations than did the oldest sons (still in school), the former had higher occupational expectations than did the latter (Table 34). The findings also indicate that the oldest daughters of lower-income households had only slightly lower occupational expectations than did the oldest daughters of upper-income household heads. Furthermore, lower-income household heads hold higher occupational expectations for the oldest daughters (who were still in school) than for the oldest sons (who were still in school).

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND THE LEARNING ATMOSPHERE OF CHILDREN

In terms of the learning atmosphere of children, the results do not indicate that lower-income household heads have a less positive orientation toward the school or learning than do upper-income household heads. Indeed, the findings indicate that, other than limited money, there was nothing in the lower-income homes that could be interpreted

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37/ Immediately after the previous question regarding occupational aspiration, the respondents were asked, "How good do you think his (her) chances are of going into this kind of work?" Due to a shortage of cases, household heads whose socioeconomic status was categorized as marginal (Table 1) were added with those in serious poverty and those in poverty in order to compute a chi-square.

as barriers to a constructive learning atmosphere within the home or local environment of low-income children. Specific findings included the following: (1,2) although slightly fewer lower- than upper-income household heads knew the names of most of their children's teachers, (Table 35), slightly more of the lower- than the upper-income household heads saw to it that the children did their homework (Table 36);[38] (3) twice as many of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads indicated that they did not buy books for their children to read (Table 37);[39] and (4) slightly more of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads indicated that their children used library facilities (Table 38).[40] In brief, the findings do not indicate anything unrelated to money that would impede the learning process within the lome or local environment of low-income children.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF SELECTED GROUPS

Males and Females, All Ages, Residing At Home or Elsewhere in the Community

The findings indicate that the poor have less education than do the more affluent (Table 39).[41] More specifically, considerably

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[38] The household heads were asked to respond "yes" or "no" to the question, "Do (did) you see to it that the children do (did) their homework?"

[39] The respondents were asked, "Do (did) you buy books for your children to read?"

[40] The following question was asked: "Do your children use the library facilities, including bookmobile?"

[41] The relationship is more pronounced when each of the five original Typology of Poverty categories are used in the computation of the chi-square statistic.

more of the lower- than of the upper-income household members or non-members had completed eight years or less of education.

Males and Females, 25 Years of Age or Over, Residing At Home or Elsewhere in the Community

The positive relationship between soeioeconomic status and educational attainment is more noticeable when household members and non-members who are less than 25 years of age are excluded from the analysis (Table 40). Less than half as many of the lower- than of the upper-income household members, 25 years of age or over, who were residing at home or elsewhere, had more than eight years of education.

Household Heads

When only household heads (sex and age unspecified) were considered in the analysis, the substantial and significant relationship between socioeconomic status and educational attainment was even more noticeable (Table 41). Indeed, 80 percent of the lower- and 40 percent of the upper-income household heads had completed eight years or less of education.

Spouses of Household Heads

Whereas 71 percent of the spouses of the lower-income household heads had completed eight years or less of education, 25 percent of the spouses of upper-income household heads had completed eight years or less of education (Table 42).

Male Household Heads

In terms of male household heads, 81 percent of the lower- and 40 percent of the upper-income household heads had completed eight years or less of education (Table 43). Viewed differently, nine percent of the lower- and 41 percent of the upper-income male household heads had completed 12 or more years of education

Female Household Heads

In comparison, eight percent of the lower- and 49 percent of the upper-income female household heads had completed 12 or more years of education (Table 44).

Male Household Heads, 46 Years of Age or Over

The positive relationship between socioeconomic status and education is also indicated when the age of the household heads is taken into account. Specifically, five and 27 percent of the lower- and upper-income male household heads, 46 years of age or over, had at least completed high school (Table 45).

Female Household Heads, 46 Years of Age or Over

In comparison, eight percent and 56 percent of the lower- and upper-income female household heads, 46 years of age or over, had completed 12 years or more of education (Table 46).

Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, Residing At Home or Elsewhere in the Community

If there is a cross-temporal or inter-generational effect between

the socioeconomic status of one's parents and one's own educational attainment, then it is at least plausible that the present socioeconomic status of household heads is related to the amount of education which their sons who are not in school have attained (Tables 47and 48).

The findings indicate that a positive and significant relationship existed between socioeconomic status and the amount of education which their nonmigrant sons had attained. The relationship existed both for sons, 25 years of age or over, who reside at home and for sons in the same age category who do not reside at home.

Sons, 46 Years of Age or Over, Residing At Home or Elsewhere in the Community

Similarly, more of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads, 46 years of age or over, had attained nine or less years of education (Table 49).

Migrant Sons

Two percent of the migrant sons of lower- and 27 percent of the migrant sons of upper-income household heads had completed any post-high school education (Table 50). Although post-high school education was virtually nonexistent among the migrant sons of lower-income household heads, it is noteworthy that over two-thirds did complete high school.

Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over

Nevertheless, when the age of the migrant sons of the household heads is taken into account, there are few differences (Table 51).

For example, 36 and 32 percent of the migrant sons of lower- and upper-income household heads completed 11 years or less of education. Thus, in contrast to the other findings, the socioeconomic status of household heads was not related to the educational attainment of migrant sons who were 25 years of age or over.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MIGRANT SONS, 25 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER, AND SELECTED STATUS PROJECTIONS

Educational Need

The findings indicate that there was a positive and significant relationship between the educational attainment of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, and the level of education which the household heads thought their children needed in order to get along well in the world (Table 52). It is important to note that there was no relationship between the former variable and the socioeconomic status of the household heads, thereby indicating that, for migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, the parent's orientation toward his children's education was at least as more important for educational attainment than was his socioeconomic status (Table 51).

Educational Expectation

The educational attainment of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, was also positively and significantly related to the level of education that the father thought his oldest son who was still in school would obtain (Table 53). Indeed, whereas 54 percent of the fathers who thought their oldest son (who was still in school) would,

at most, finish high school actually had a migrant son, 25 years of age or over, that actually did at least finish high school, 80 percent of the fathers who expected their oldest son (who was still in school) to obtain at least some post-high school education actually did have a migrant son, 25 years of age or over, who did at least finish high school.

Occupational Aspiration

The findings also indicate that the occupational aspirations of the oldest son (who was still in school) were also positively and significantly related to the educational attainment of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over (Table 54).[42/] Once again, the high status projection of one sibling was related to the attainment of another sibling.

Occupational Expectation

In contrast with the three other status projections, the occupational expectations that the fathers had of their oldest son's (who was still in school) chances of obtaining their occupational aspiration were not significantly related to the educational attain-

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42/ For analytical purposes, the responses were placed in one of two categories: (1) high -- "professional, technical, and managers, officials" and "clerical and kindred; and sales;" and (2) low -- "craftsman, foreman; and operative," "service," "private household; farm laborer; laborers," and "farmers and farm managers."

ment of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over (Table 55).[43/]

In any event, there was a positive relationship between the educational need, educational expectations, and occupational aspirations of one family member and the actual educational attainment of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS

The findings show a positive and significant relationship between socioeconomic status and the present (or last) occupational status of household heads (Table 56). The relationship is exemplified by the specific finding that four percent of the lower- and 18 percent of the upper-income household heads held a professional or managerial status.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF FATHERS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS

That poverty apparently is inter-generational and that the children of the poor do not necessarily jump the walls imposed by poverty is suggested by a comparison of the occupational statuses of the fathers of the lower- and upper-income household heads (Table 57). The relationship, which was positive and significant, is exemplified by the specific finding that four percent of the fathers of lower-income household heads and 11 percent of the fathers of upper-income household heads held professional or managerial statuses.

[43/] This finding holds regardless of whether or not the large percentage of respondents who replied 'don't know' are included in the statistical analysis.

A COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND OF THEIR FATHERS

It is noteworthy that only one percent more of the lower-income household heads themselves than of their fathers held high occupational statuses. In comparison, 12 percent more of the upper-income household heads themselves than of their fathers held high occupational statuses.

At least in terms of occupational status differences between generations, the impoverished household heads barely gained ground while the nonimporverished household heads gained considerable ground.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF THE MIGRANT CHILDREN

Just Prior to Migration

There were virtually no socioeconomic status differences in the occupational status of the migrant children, just prior to migration (Table 58). This point is exemplified by the specific finding that only two percent less of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads reported that their migrant children held high occupational statuses just prior to migration.

Just After Migration

The household heads also provided information on the occupational status of their migrant children just after migration (Table 59). One noteworthy difference is the percentage of lower- and upper-income migrant children who held high occupational statuses just after

migration; 16 percent of the former and 27 percent of the latter held such statuses.

A Comparison of Occupational Attainment Just Prior To and Just After Migration

It is accurate that there were no statistically significant differences in the bivariate relationship between socioeconomic status of the household heads and the occupational status of their migrant children either just prior to or just after migration. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the difference was virtually nothing at the former time but at least considerable just after migration. Put differently, a comparison of the occupational statuses of migrant children just prior to and just after migration indicates that the children of higher-income households gained more from the migration than did the children of lower-income household heads. This point is exemplified by the specific finding that, in terms of the percentage with high occupational status, the former group experienced a 13 percent gain and the latter group had a four percent gain.

At Time of the Study

The observation that the migrant children of household heads residing in the Ozarks did not obtain similar occupational status benefits by migrating is even more obvious from the cross-tabulation of the socioeconomic status of household heads and the occupational status which the migrant children held at the time of the study (Table 60).

Substantially (and significantly) less of the lower- than of the upper-income household heads reported that their migrant children held high occupational statuses at the time of the interview; 11 percent of the former and 30 percent of the latter had children who held high occupational statuses at that point in time.

A Comparison of Occupational Attainment At Three Different Points In Time

On the basis of the percentage holding high occupational status, a comparison of the occupational statuses of migrant children at the three points in time indicates: (1) that the migrant children of lower-income household heads lost occupational status ground since migrating; 16 percent held high occupational status just after migration but only 11 percent held high occupational status at the time of the interview; (2) that the migrant children of upper-income household heads had at least gained some occupational status ground since migrating; 27 percent had high occupational status just after migration and 30 percent had high occupational status at the time of the interview; and (3) that socioeconomic status differences in the occupational status of the migrant children of the household heads are even more noticeable by comparing the percentage of lower- and upper-income migrant children with high occupational status just prior to migration and at the time of the interview; the former group experienced a one percent loss and the latter group experiencd a 16 percent gain from the former to the latter point in time. Thus,

migration from an economically depressed area does not necessarily mean changing from a low- to a high-status occupation: it did for the children of upper-income household heads but it did not for the children of lower-income household heads. In brief, physical mobility provides no assurance of high occupational status.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MIGRANT SONS, 25 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER, AND SELECTED VARIABLES

Socioeconomic Status

Although the relationship was not statistically significant, nearly twice as many upper-than lower-income migrant sons, 25 years of age and over, held high occupational status at the time of the study (Table 61). Specifically, fourteen percent of the lower- and 26 percent of the upper-income household heads who had migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, reported that the latter presently held a high occupational status.

A comparison of these findings with those reported immediately above indicates several points. First, only one of the lower-income household heads had a migrant child who was not a male and at least 25 years of age. Second, in contrast, two-thirds of the upper-income household heads had migrant children who were female or were less than 25 years of age. Thus, the migration process is much more selective among lower- than upper-income households in that virtually all of the former had only sons who had migrated.

Educational Need

It will be recalled that the findings show that there was a

positive and significant relationship between the educational attainment of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, and educational need (i.e., the level of education which the household heads thought their children needed in order to get along well in the world) (Table 52). In contrast, the findings also indicate that the occupational status of the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, at the time of the interview was not significantly related to educational need (Table 62).

A comparison of these two findings suggest that educational need is important to the educational but not to the occupational attainment of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over. A comparison of the latter finding with the one reported in the last section indicates that, for migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, socioeconomic status is more important to occupational attainment than is educational need. Nevertheless, it is important to recall that educational need was and socioeconomic status was <u>not</u> significantly related to the educational attainment of the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over. Thus, for migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, educational need is more important to educational attainment and the socioeconomic status of household heads is more important to occupational attainment.

Educational Attainment

As might be expected, the occupational attainment of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, was positively and significantly related

to educational attainment (Table 63). Twenty percent more of those who had completed 12 years or more of education than those who had completed 11 years or less of education held a high occupational status. Yet, it is noteworthy that only 25 percent of the migrant sons who did complete at least 12 years of education actually held a high occupational status. The latter finding suggests that the importance of educational attainment for occupational attainment is not as high as many Americans may presume. Indeed, the latter finding, when compared to the findings in the last sections, indicates that the socioeconomic status of one's parents is at least as important for having a high occupational status than is one's own educational attainment. This conclusion is suggested, among others, by the findings (1) that, 25 percent of the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, who had high educational attainment also had high occupational attainment; and (2) that 26 percent of the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, whose parents had high socioeconomic status also had high occupational attainment.

A TRI-GENERATIONAL COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Perhaps the second most fundamental question concerning the general relationship between poverty and social mobility is whether impoverished families improve their occupational status from one generation to another. Accordingly, it is useful to examine the respective percentage of imporverished household heads, of their fathers, and of their migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, who held

high occupational status (Tables 56, 57, and 61). Whereas five and four percent of the former two groups of lower-income status held high occupational status, 14 percent of the latter group who were sons of lower-income household heads held such statuses.

This comparison illuminates two points. One is that impoverished household heads had barely gained any high occupational status ground when compared to their fathers: only one percent more of the former than of the latter had high occupational attainment. Second, that the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, had gained considerable high occupational status ground when compared to their fathers: 14 percent of the former and five percent of the latter had high occupational status. In brief, these points, based on aggregate occupational status comparisons, suggest that some upward intergenerational occupational mobility was occurring.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF MIGRANT SONS, 25 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER, AND SELECTED VARIABLES

Fortunately, however, the study did not rely only on aggregate comparisons of the percentage of household heads, their fathers, their migrant children, of of the migrant sons, 25 years of age or over. Theoretically, the migrant children could attain considerable or substantial upward inter-generational occupational mobility without having attained a high occupational status. Accordingly, the rest of the findings are based on individual comparisons between the highest-to-date

occupational status of household heads and the occupational status of their migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, at the time of the study.[44/]

[44/] The following index was established to approximate a unidemensional scale of occupational status, which in turn, was used in order that a numerical prestige score could be assigned to each occupational category: professional = 18; managers = 17; farmers and farm managers = 16; sales = 15; clerical = 14; craftsmen = 13; operative = 12; private household = 11; service except private household = 10; farm laborers and farm foremen = 9; laborers, except farm and mine = 8; student = 7; unemployed or part-time employment = 6; housewife = 5; military = 4; retired = 3; disabled = 2; and retired and disabled = 1. Using these point assignments, a prestige score was assigned to each father and to each migrant child. These scores, which ranged from one to 18, provided a basis for computing the degree and direction of inter-generational occupational mobility. The computation involved substracting the prestige score of the father from that of his migrant child and then categorizing the resulting score into one of four categories representing different types of mobility. Since information was gathered during the interview on the household head's job history, it was possible to compare the prestige associated with the highest-to-date status of each male household head who was a father with the prestige associated with the present occupational status of his migrant sons, 25 years of age or over. The prestige associated with the highest-to-date status of the father is preferable to the prestige associated with his present status for two reasons. One is that the former allows for the effect of old age on the father's status. That is, it takes into account the probability that the prestige associated with his present status may be lower than that associated with any position formerly held. A second reason is that the highest-to-date approach allows for the effect of a change in educational need. That is, the child may have internalized the father's placing a high importance on his children's education only because the father's perceptions toward the same were raised by having held the highest-to-date occupational position. The preference is for the prestige associated with the present rather than the first occupational status of the migrant child after migration because it allows for the probability that the first job, particularly of the migrant, does not fulfill the latter's occupational aspiration(s). It also allows for the fact that, other things being equal, one's occupational status often increases with age and occupational experience. Each paired father-son score was placed in one of the following mobility types: (1) downward, for (-17)-(-1) difference in son-father occupational status; (2) static, for (-1)-(+1) difference in son-father occupational status; (3) upward-1, for (+2)-(+4) difference in son-father occupational status; and (4) upward-2, for (+5)-(+17) difference in son-father occupational status.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

The cross-tabulation between the inter-generational occupational mobility attained by migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, and the socioeconomic status of their fathers who were household heads indicates that a substantial proportion of the lower-income sons had actually attained upward inter-generational occupational mobility (Table 64). Two speciifc findings help substantiate this conclusion. First, only five percent of migrant sons of lower-income fathers were downwardly mobile. Second, 87 percent of migrant sons of lower-income fathers were upwardly mobile, in comparison to 63 percent of migrant sons of upper-income fathers.

EDUCATIONAL NEED

The findings indicate a slightly positive but insignificant relationship between the inter-generational occupational mobility of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, and educational need (Table 65).

IMPLICATIONS

Only a short time ago in the span of history, settlers came to America's shores with very little.[45/] Industriousness combined with frugality, a respect for learning, a willingness to take chances, and a mobile social system had two important effects. One was to promote the phenomenal growth of the American economy. The other was to establish the prevalent American attitude that a man's misfortunes were his own

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45/ Miller, op. cit.

affair and that society could or should do little about them--if a man could not find his niche, he had no one to blame but himself. All but the last two findings clearly suggest that the rural poor and their migrant children, despite substantial efforts to improve themselves, did not experience substantial occupational mobility. In other words, structural conditions kept the impoverished individuals from improving their ability to enjoy the good things in life. For them, the American dream of mobility of success turned out to be a myth. However, the last two findings, which were based on direct individual father-son occupational status comparisons, present a different picture. That is, the vast majority of lower-income fathers had one or more sons (25 years of age or over) who presently held a higher-prestige job than their father had ever held.

The morale findings indicate that most of the poor think that a person can improve himself and his access to the good things in life. Such optimism is inconsistent with the assertion that the poor are pessimistic.[46/] Since the nonpoor had significantly higher levels of social participation than did the poor, it is clear that most of the poor did not have access to resources to attempt to alter their lives. In terms of the willingness to take courses for pay, having work experience for their present job, working between 41 and 60 hours per week, and interest in changing to another job at higher pay, the poor are <u>at least as</u> willing as nonpoor to attempt to improve themselves.

[46/] For example, see McKnight, op. cit.

The latter conclusion is underscored by the specific finding that 88 percent of the poor were interested in changing to a job that would pay less than $100 a week (Table 23). It is given additional support by other findings which indicated that such things as transportation, disability, and old age hampered the efforts of the poor to attempt to improve themselves.

The conclusion that the poor are generally optimistic is also supported by the willingness of the children of lower-income household heads to permanently migrate from the community in which they were reared. Indeed, more children of households in serious poverty than children of households definitely not in poverty had permanently migrated from the community within the last 10 years. Thus, the children of the poor, like the poor themselves, were apparently willing to attempt to improve their lot in life.

Despite the finding that the poor had little education themselves, over half thought that their children needed to go to college and and virtually all (ninety-five percent) thought that their children needed to at least finish high school. Such findings also support the conclusion that the poor thought that educational attainment was an important avenue for their children's chances of improving themselves.

Two other findings provide the empirical basis for the conclusion that the poor also recognize the structural limitations to which they or their children are subjected: (1) that 41 and 81 percent of the lower- and upper-income fathers expected the oldest son who was still in school to actually obtain any post-high-school education, and

(2) that fewer of the lower-than of the upper-income household heads thought that the oldest son (who was still in school) had either an excellent or good chance of entering the occupation to which the latter aspired.

The findings concerning the learning atmosphere of the children of the poor do not indicate that the poor have a less positive orientation toward the school or learning than do upper-income household heads. Indeed, the findings indicate that, other than the lack of money, there was nothing in the lower-income homes that could be interpretated as barriers to a constructive learning atmosphere within the home or local environment.

Regardless of the fact that the poor think education is important the findings clearly indicated that being poor is linked with low education. Obviously, thinking that education is necessary is not enough to raise the educational level of the poor. Accordingly, if poverty was viewed as a societal rather than as an individual problem, subsidizing the education of the children of the poor would likely be one efficient attack on the problem.

The findings indicating that socioeconomic status was not and that educational need was positively and significantly related to the educational attainment of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, need to be carefully examined. At first, they appear to be an important exception to the empirical generalization that being poor meant being subject to structural conditions which one had little or no opportunity to alter. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that what is more telling is whether the low socioeconomic status of the poor might be related

the occupational attainment of their migrant children, Accordingly, the study found that substantially (and significantly) less of the poor than of the nonpoor reported that their migrant children held high occupational statuses at the time of the study. Indeed, nearly three times as many of the latter than of the former had children who held high occupational statuses at that point in time. That the opportunity to attain a professional or managerial position is a myth for most of the migrant children of the poor is at least partially suggested by the conclusion that the socioeconomic status of one's parents is apparently more important for having a high occupational status than is one's <u>own</u> educational attainment.

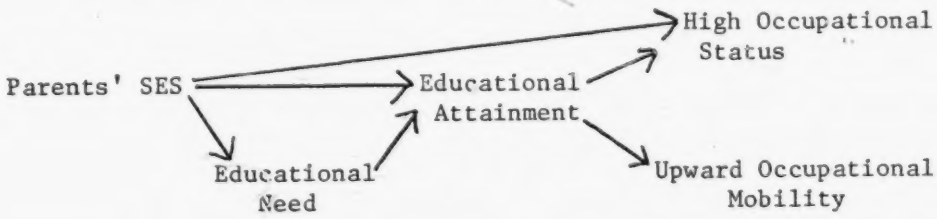
But there are other findings which at least indirectly support the latter conclusion: (1) only one percent more of the lower-income household heads themselves than of their fathers held high occupational statuses; (2) in comparison, 12 percent more of the upper-income household heads themselves than of their fathers held high occupational statuses; (3) at least in terms of occupational status differences between generations, the impoverished household heads barely gained high occupational status ground while the nonimpoverished gained considerable high occupational status ground; (4) that the migrant children of lower-income household heads lost occupational status ground since migrating -- 16 percent held high occupational status just after migration but only 11 percent held high occupational status at the time of the study; (5) that the migrant children of upper-income household heads had at least gained some occupational status ground since migrating -- 27 percent had

high occupational status just after migration and 30 percent had high occupational status at the time of the study; (6) whereas the lower-income migrant children experienced a one percent loss, the upper-income migrant children experienced a 16 percent gain in the percentage holding high occupational status just prior to migration and at the time of the study; and (7) thus, for the sons of lower-income household heads, neither high educational need, high educational attainment, nor migration from the low-income area was necessarily related to holding high occupational status.

It is important to note that the above findings relating to occupational status were based on aggregate comparisons of categories of individuals holding high -- professional or managerial -- occupational positions at selected points in time. Although such an approach is useful, it is misleading if a substantial proportion of sons have actually attained occupational positions which, though not professional or managerial, are higher in prestige than is even the highest position ever held by their father. As noted in the last section of the findings, the latter situation was empirically verified. Indeed, the vast majority of sons (25 years of age or over) of lower-income fathers actually held an occupational status which was higher in prestige than was the most prestigeous occupational position of their father. Accordingly, although few sons of low-income fathers obtained a high occupational position, most did surpass their father's highest position. Nevertheless, the latter statement should not be interpreted to mean that low-income children in rural low-income areas such as the Ozarks can be safely

ignored. On the contrary, the empirically-based conclusions indicate that any well-planned and well-supported programs aimed at subsidizing the education of such children would likely have a high payoff.

Theoretically, the above findings give substantial support to the conclusion that for migrant sons, 25 years of age or over, the parents' orientation toward his children's education was at least as important for educational attainment than was his parents' socioeconomic status. Although the socioeconomic status of one's parents was at least as important for the migrant sons attaining a high occupational status than was one's own educational attainment, neither educational need nor socioeconomic were positively and significantly related to the intergenerational occupational mobility of migrant sons, 25 years of age or over: apparently educational attainment was the critical factor to the upward occupational mobility of migrant sons. These findings suggested the following model for migrant sons, 25 years of age or over:



Future researchers might fruitfully test the model in other low-income areas.

Table 1

Basic Poverty Classifications Based on Distributions of Income and Number in Household[1/]

	Household size-income class				
	Serious poverty	Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty	Definitely not in poverty
	Number of persons in household				
$ 0-999	2 or more	1	---	---	---
$1000-1999	5 or more	2-4	1	---	---
$2000-2999	9 or more	4-8	2 or 3	1	---
$3000-4999	---	8 or more	4-7	2 or 3	1
$5000-7499	---	---	9 or more	4-8	1-3
$7500-9999	---	---	---	6 or more	1-5
$10,000 & over	---	---	---	9 or more	1-8

1/ This typology is used in this study as a crude index of the socio-economic status of the family and its various members. For purposes of the study, a household head is identified as having a socio-economic status; strictly speaking, this reference is not to per capita income but to one of the five categories which crudely approximates the same. Income data based on earnings in 1965; survey was conducted during 1966.

Source: Gladys Bowles, Economic Development Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Rex R. Campbell, Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri, Conference to plan analysis of Typology of Poverty Studies, Memphis, Tennessee, July 12, 1966.

Table 2. Morale of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item A.

Times are getting better	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N-336)	Marginal (N=339)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=655)	Total (N=1330)
	Percent			
Strongly agree	1	2	4	2
Agree	36	42	49	44
Undecided	16	11	8	11
Disagree	43	40	35	39
Strongly disagree	4	5	4	4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 35.35$ df = 8 $P < .001$

Table 3. Morale of Spouses of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item A

Times are getting better	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=241)	Marginal (N=266)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=585)	Total (N=1092)
	Percent			
Strongly agree	2	2	3	3
Agree	37	39	49	44
Undecided	11	11	8	9
Disagree	45	43	37	40
Stongly disagree	5	5	3	4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 17.78$ df = 8 $.02 < P < .05$

Table 4. Morale of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item B

Any man with ability and willingness to work hard has a good chance of being successful.	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=337)*	Marginal (N=400)*	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=655)	Total (N=1392)
	Percent			
Strongly agree	10	14	22	16
Agree	82	80	74	78
Undecided	4	1	1	2
Disagree	4	4	3	4
Strongly disagree	--	1	--	--
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

* Combined for chi-square analysis.

$X^2 = 29.57$ df = 4 $P < .001$

Table 5. Morale of Spouses of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item B

Any man with ability and willingness to work hard has a good chance of being successful.	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=240)*	Marginal (N=266)*	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=586)	Total (N=1092)
	Percent			
Strongly agree	11	14	21	17
Agree	82	79	76	78
Undecided	2	1	1	1
Disagree	5	5	2	4
Strongly disagree	--	1	--	--
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

* Combined for chi-square analysis.

$X^2 = 19.77$ df = 4 $P < .001$

Table 6. Morale of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item C

Can plan future so things come out right in the long run.	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=337)	Marginal (N=400)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=654)	Total (N=1391)
	Percent			
Strongly agree	1	2	2	1
Agree	47	40	40	42
Undecided	5	9	4	6
Disagree	40	44	48	45
Strongly disagree	7	5	6	6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 15.99$ df = 8 $.02 < P < .05$

Table 7. Morale of Spouses of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item C

Can plan future so things come out right in the long run.	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=240)	Marginal (N=266)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=586)	Total (N=1092)
	Percent			
Strongly agree	2	1	1	1
Agree	40	36	39	39
Undecided	4	6	5	5
Disagree	47	52	50	50
Strongly disagree	7	5	5	5
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 5.51$ df = 8 $.70 < P < .80$

Table 8. Morale of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item D

No one cares much what happens to you.	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=336)	Marginal (N=397)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=654)	Total (N=1387)
	Percent			
Strongly disagree	15	16	18	17
Disagree	69	72	74	72
Undecided	1	2	--	1
Agree	15	10	7	9
Strongly agree	--	--	1	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 9. Morale of Spouses of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item D.

No one cares much what happens to you.	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=240)	Marginal (N=263)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=586)	Total (N=1089)
	Percent			
Strongly disagree	20	18	20	20
Disagree	70	74	74	73
Undecided	1	1	--	--
Agree	8	7	5	6
Strongly agree	1	--	1	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 10. Morale of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item E

Success is more dependent on luck than ability.	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=337)	Marginal (N=400)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=655)	Total (N=1392)
	Percent			
Strongly disagree	6	8	12	9
Disagree	60	63	73	67
Undecided	9	7	3	6
Agree	22	21	11	16
Strongly agree	3	1	1	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 64.96$ df = 8 $P < .001$

Table 11. Morale of Spouses of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item E

Success is more dependent on luck than ability.	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=240)	Marginal (N=266)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=587)	Total (N=1093)
	Percent			
Strongly disagree	8	5	12	10
Disagree	63	69	73	70
Undecided	6	7	4	5
Agree	20	18	10	14
Strongly agree	3	1	1	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 36.12$ df = 8 $P < .001$

Table 12. Morale of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item F

A man does not have to pretend in order to "get by."	Socio-Economic Status: Serious poverty and Poverty (N=337)	Marginal (N=399)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=654)	Total (N=1390)
	Percent			
Strongly agree	5	5	7	6
Agree	73	72	75	73
Undecided	3	3	1	2
Disagree	19	19	16	18
Strongly disagree	--	1	1	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 10.36$ df = 8 $.20 < P < .30$

Table 13. Morale of Spouses of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item F

A man does not have to pretend in order to "get by."	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=240)*	Marginal (N=265)*	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=586)	Total (N=1091)
	----------Percent----------			
Strongly agree	5	6	7	6
Agree	72	75	75	75
Undecided	1	2	1	2
Disagree	21	15	15	16
Strongly disagree	1	2	2	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

* Combined for chi-square analysis.

$X^2 = 3.12$ df = 4 $.50 < P < .70$

Table 14. Morale of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item G

The future looks very black.	Socio-Economic Status: Serious poverty and Poverty (N=337)	Marginal (N=400)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in Poverty (N=655)	Total (N=1392)
	Percent			
Strongly disagree	6	9	12	10
Disagree	52	61	67	62
Undecided	7	8	4	6
Agree	32	19	15	20
Strongly agree	3	3	2	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 55.90$ df = 8 $P < .001$

Table 15. Morale of Spouses of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status: Item G

The future looks very black.	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=241)	Marginal (N=266)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in Poverty (N=587)	Total (N=1094)
	Percent			
Strongly disagree	8	9	12	11
Disagree	51	65	68	64
Undecided	7	5	3	4
Agree	31	18	15	19
Strongly agree	3	3	2	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 42.53$ df = 8 $P < .001$

Table 16. Summary of Various Types of Social Participation of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status.

Type of Social Participation	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=338)	Marginal (N=404)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=660)	Total (N=1402)
	Percent			
Organizational Membership[a]				
Low	81	71	52	64
High	19	29	48	36
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Organizational Attendance[b]				
Low	98*	94	83	90**
High	2	6	17	10
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Organizational Committee Memberships[c]				
Low	98	98	93	96
High	2	2	7	4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Organizational Offices[d]				
Low	96	97	93	95
High	4	3	7	5
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Informal[e]				
Low	84	70	43	61
High	16	30	57	39
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

*N = 337

**N = 1401

[a] $X^2 = 97.54$ df = 2 $P < .001$

[b] $X^2 = 64.80$ df = 2 $P < .001$

[c] $X^2 = 17.10$ df = 2 $P < .001$

[d] $X^2 = 10.07$ df = 2 $P < .01$

[e] $X^2 = 184.01$ df = 2 $P < .001$

Table 17. Willingness of Household Heads to Take Courses for Pay by Socio-Economic Status

Willingness to Take Courses for Pay	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=116)	Marginal (N=165)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=432)	Total (N=713)
	Percent			
Yes	62	59	53	56
No	38	41	47	44
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 18. Willingness of Spouses of Household Heads to Take Courses for Pay by Socio-Economic Status

Willingness to Take Courses for Pay	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=113)	Marginal (N=168)	Probably not in Poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=442)	Total (N=723)
	Percent			
Yes	60	58	56	57
No	40	42	44	43
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 19. Previous Work Experience of Household Heads for Present (Last) Job by Socio-Economic Status

Previous Work Experience	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=128)	Marginal (N=184)	Probably not in Poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=517)	Total (N=829)
	Percent			
Yes	70	58	56	61
No	30	42	44	39
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 20. Average Number of Hours Household Heads Worked Per Week on Present (Last) Job by Socio-Economic Status

Average Number of Hours	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=64)	Marginal (N=146)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=441)	Total (N=651)
	Percent			
1 - 20	9	7	3	6
21 - 40	52	51	52	52
41 - 60	39	35	37	37
61 - 80	0	5	5	3
81 -100	0	1	3	2
101 & over	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 21. Interest of Household Heads in changing to Another Type of Job at Higher Pay If Could Continue to Live in the Same Community by Socio-Economic Status

Interest	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=108)	Marginal (N=162)	Probably not in poverty Definitely not in poverty (N=425)	Total (N=695)
	Percent			
Yes	61	68	56	62
No	39	32	44	38
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 22. Reasons Why Household Heads Would Not Be Interested in Changing to Another Type of Job at Higher Pay If Could Continue to Live in the Same Community by Socio-Economic Status.

Reason Given	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=39)	Margina' (N=48)	Probably not in poverty Definitely not in poverty (N=174)	Total (N=261)
	Percent			
Satified, like people, area, job	36	67	64	56
Disabled, too old to change & retired	44	21	9	24
Seniority &/or fringe benefits	2	4	14	7
Own or buying property here	5	4	8	6
Other	13	4	5	7
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 23. How Much Job Would Have to Pay Household Heads Per Week by Socio-Economic Status

Dollars Per Week	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=66)	Marginal (N=110)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=237)	Total (N=413)
	Percent			
$0 - 50	14	2	0	5
51 - 100	74	54	37	55
101 - 150	8	39	39	28
151 - 200	3	3	18	8
201 - 250	1	2	2	2
251 - 300	0	0	2	1
301 & Over	0	0	2	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 24. How Far Household Heads Would Commute by Socio-Economic Status

Number of Miles	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=66)	Marginal (N=106)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=233)	Total (N=405)
	Percent			
1 - 10	20	15	15	16
11 - 20	29	30	22	27
21 - 30	23	17	25	22
31 - 40	7	11	10	9
41 - 50	13	17	19	17
51 & Over	8	10	9	9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 25. Household Heads Have Looked for Work Out of County in Last Ten Years by Socio-Economic Status

Looked for Work	Socio-Economic Status: Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=330)	Marginal (N=394)	Probably not in Poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=653)	Total (N=1377)
	Percent			
Yes	18	21	25	21
No	82	79	75	79
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 26. Migration of Children of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status.

Migration of Children	Socio-Economic Status					
	Serious poverty (N=55)	Poverty (N=252)	Marginal (N=356)	Probably not in poverty (N=293)	Definitely not in poverty (N=295)	Total (N=1251)
	Percent					
Yes	38	25	22	27	33	27
No	62	75	78	73	67	73
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 14.65$ $df = 4$ $.001 < P < .01$

Table 27. Educational Need of Household Heads with Children at Home by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Need	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=126)*	Marginal (N=168)*	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=363)	Total (N=657)
	Percent			
6 - 9 years	2	1	--	1
Some high school	3	--	--	1
Finish high school	43	27	16	24
Some college	22	10	12	13
Finish college	30	62	72	61
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

*Combined for chi-square analysis.

$X^2 = 50.70$ df = 2 P < .001

Table 28. Educational Need of Fathers of One or More Migrant Children, 25 Years of Age or Over, by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Need	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=46)	Marginal (N=42)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=59)	Total (N=147)
	Percent			
12 years or less	41	29	29	33
Some college or more	59	71	71	67
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 2.28$ df = 2 .30 <P <.50

Table 29. Educational Expectations of Oldest Son Who Is Still in School by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Expectations of Oldest Son	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=84)	Marginal (N=97)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=209)	Total (N=390)
	Percent			
6 - 9 years	1	--	1	--
Some high school	6	2	1	2
Finish high school	52	29	17	28
Some college	13	15	11	13
Trade, business school	6	3	3	4
Finish college	22	51	67	53
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 30. Educational Expectations of Oldest Daughter Who Is Still in School by Socio-Economic Status

Educational Expectations of Oldest Daughter	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=75)	Marginal (N=89)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in Poverty (N=176)	Total (N=340)
	Percent			
6 - 9 years	--	--	--	--
Some high school	7	--	1	2
Finish high school	53	37	25	35
Some college	12	15	14	14
Trade, business school	1	3	2	2
Finish college	27	45	58	47
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 31. Occupational Aspirations of Oldest Son Who Is Still in School by Socio-Economic Status.

Occupational Aspirations	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in Poverty	Total
	(N=36)	(N=40)	(N=117)	(N=193)
	Percent			
Professional, technical; and managers, officials	33	65	69	62
Clerical; sales	6	--	4	3
Farmers and farm managers	11	5	4	6
Craftsmen, foremen; and operative	39	20	19	23
Service	8	10	3	5
Private household; farm laborer; laborers	3	--	1	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 32. Occupational Aspirations of Oldest Daughter Who Is Still in School by Socio-Economic Status.

Occupational Aspirations	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty	Total
	(N=40)	(N=38)	(N=94)	(N=172)
	Percent			
Professional, technical; and managers, officials	55	47	57	55
Clerical; sales	17	34	25	25
Craftsmen, foremen; and operative	5	--	3	3
Service	23	19	15	17
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 33. Occupational Expectations of Oldest Son Who Is Still in School by Socio-Economic Status.

Occupational Expectations	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty	Total
	(N=84)*	(N=97)*	(N=210)	(N=391)
	Percent			
Excellent	7	12	17	14
Good	26	27	33	30
Fair	9	4	4	5
Poor	1	--	2	1
Don't know	57	57	44	50
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

*Combined for chi-square analysis

$X^2 = 10.24$ d.f. = 4 .02 <P<.05

Table 34. Occupational Expectations of Oldest Daughter Who Is Still in School by Socio-Economic Status.

Occupational Expectations	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty	Total
	(N=76)*	(N=89)*	(N=174)	(N=339)
	----------Percent----------			
Excellent	21	15	23	20
Good	25	24	28	26
Fair	7	2	3	4
Poor	1	2	--	1
Don't know	46	57	46	49
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

*Combined for chi-square analysis

$X^2 = 5.98$ d.f. = 4 $.20 < P < .30$

Table 35. Knowledge of Children's Teachers by Socio-Economic Status.

Knowledge of Children's Teachers	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty	Total
	(N=115)	(N=139)	(N=317)	(N=571)
	Percent			
Yes	70	76	80	77
No	30	24	20	23
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 5.10$ df = 2 .05<P<.10

Table 36. Homework Supervision by Socio-Economic Status.

Supervision of Children's Homework	Socio-Economic Status: Serious poverty and Poverty (N=116)	Marginal (N=138)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in Poverty (N=316)	Total (N=570)
	Percent			
Yes	86	82	82	83
No	4	4	6	5
Did not need to	10	14	12	12
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 2.86$ df = 4 .50 <P <.70

Table 37. Purchase of Children's Books by Socio-Economic Status.

Purchased Books for Children	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=127)	Marginal (N=163)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=360)	Total (N=650)
	Percent			
Yes	40	39	48	44
Yes, often	5	14	16	13
Yes, seldom	9	7	4	6
Yes, school books only	14	10	8	10
Yes, religious only	4	--	1	1
Yes, other	2	7	10	8
No	26	23	13	18
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 52.21$ df = 12 P <.001

Table 38. Children's Use of Library Facilities by Socio-Economic Status.

Children's Use of Library Facilities	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=127)	Marginal (N=160)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=354)	Total (N=641)
	Percent			
Yes	83	76	81	81
No	12	21	17	17
No, no access to library or bookmobile	5	3	2	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 8.41$ df = 4 $.05 < P < .10$

Table 39. Educational Attainment of Males and Females, All Ages, at Home or Elsewhere, by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=1992)	Marginal (N=1973)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=3166)	Total (N=7131)
	Percent			
1 - 5 years	18	15	12	14
6 - 7 years	15	16	15	16
8 years	21	18	12	16
9 - 11 years	19	22	19	20
12 years	20	21	27	23
13 - 15 years	5	5	8	7
16 years	2	2	5	3
17 years or more	--	1	2	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 238.02$ df = 14 P <.001

Table 40. Educational Attainment of Males and Females, 25 Years of Age or Over, at Home or Elsewhere, by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=1302)	Marginal (N=1285)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=1853)	Total (N=4440)
	Percent			
1 - 5 years	14	9	5	9
6 - 7 years	13	12	5	10
8 years	28	24	17	22
9 - 11 years	16	20	20	19
12 years	24	27	35	30
13 - 15 years	3	4	8	5
16 years	2	3	7	4
17 years or more	0	1	3	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 351.77$ df = 14 P <.001

Table 41. Educational Attainment of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=325)	Marginal (N=389)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=657)	Total (N=1371)
	Percent			
1 - 4 years	21	11	6	11
5 - 7 years	29	25	11	20
8 years	30	31	23	27
9 - 11 years	10	17	20	17
12 years	7	13	27	18
13 - 15 years	2	2	7	4
16 years	1	1	5	3
17 years or more	--	--	1	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 211.40$ df = 14 P <.001

Table 42. Educational Attainment of Spouses of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=240)	Marginal (N=265)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=592)	Total (N=1097)
	Percent			
1 - 4 years	8	5	1	4
5 - 7 years	27	14	6	13
8 years	36	29	18	24
9 - 11 years	22	28	26	25
12 years	7	22	35	26
13 - 15 years	0	2	8	5
16 years	--	0	4	2
17 years or more	0	--	2	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 210.96$ df = 14 P < .001

Table 43. Educational Attainment of Male Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=242)	Marginal (N=288)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=607)	Total (N=1137)
	Percent			
1 - 5 years	29	19	9	16
6 - 7 years	21	17	7	12
8 years	31	30	24	28
9 - 11 years	10	17	19	17
12 years	6	15	27	19
13 - 15 years	2	1	7	4
16 years	1	1	5	3
17 years or more	--	--	2	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 178.72$ df = 14 $P < .001$

Table 44 Educational Attainment of Female Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=83)	Marginal (N=100)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=49)	Total (N=232)
	Percent			
11 years or less	92	87	51	81
12 years or more	8	13	49	19
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 37.03$ df = 2 P <.001

Table 45. Educational Attainment of Male Household Heads, 46 Years of Age or Over, by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=184)	Marginal (N=173)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=347)	Total (N=704)
	Percent			
11 years or less	95	93	73	84
12 years or more	5	7	27	16
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 58.18$ df = 2 $P < .001$

Table 46. Educational Attainment of Female Household Heads, 46 Years of Age or Over, by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=70)	Marginal (N=95)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=40)	Total (N=205)
	Percent			
1 - 5 years	33	17	10	21
6 - 7 years	19	22	2	17
8 years	33	35	20	31
9 - 11 years	7	13	12	11
12 years	7	7	33	12
13 - 15 years	1	5	10	5
16 years	--	1	8	2
17 or over	--	--	5	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 47. Educational Attainment of Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, at Home or Elsewhere, by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=259)	Marginal (N=202)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=300)	Total (N=761)
	Percent			
None	7	4	2	4
1 - 5 years	8	10	4	7
6 - 9 years	19	16	9	14
Some high school	15	21	16	17
Finish high school	42	35	40	40
Some college	6	6	10	8
Finish college	3	6	14	8
Other	--	2	5	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 70.62$ df = 14 $P < .001$

Table 48. Educational Attainment of Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, at Home, by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=252)	Marginal (N=194)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=286)	Total (N=732)
	Percent			
None	6	4	2	4
1 - 5 years	8	10	4	7
6 - 9 years	19	16	8	14
Some high school	15	21	16	17
Finish high school	42	36	40	40
Some college	6	5	11	8
Finish college	4	6	14	8
Other	--	2	5	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 70.99$ df = 14 $P < .001$

Table 49. Educational Attainment of Sons, 46 Years of Age or Over, At Home or Elsewhere, by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=54)	Marginal (N=66)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=24)	Total (N=144)
	Percent			
None	11	4	4	7
1 - 5 years	13	14	8	12
6 - 9 years	30	24	21	26
Some high school	13	17	4	13
Finish high school	22	35	34	30
Some college	9	4	--	6
Finish college	2	2	21	5
Other	--	--	8	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 50. Educational Attainment of Migrant Sons by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=83)*	Marginal (N=78)*	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=144)	Total (N=305)
	Percent			
None	4	10	1	4
1 - 5 years	4	--	8	5
6 - 9 years	9	8	5	7
Some high school	12	19	14	15
Finish high school	69	45	45	51
Some college	2	18	13	11
Finish college	--	--	12	6
Other	--	--	2	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

* Combined for chi-square analysis.

$X^2 = 39.17$ df = 7 P <.001

Table 51. Educational Attainment of Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over by Socio-Economic Status.

Educational Attainment	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=81)	Marginal (N=52)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=56)	Total (N=189)
	Percent			
11 Years or Less	36	40	32	36
12 Years or More	64	60	68	64
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 0.80$ df = 2 $.50 < P < .70$

Table 52. Educational Attainment of Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, by Educational Need.

Educational Attainment	Educational Need		
	Low* (N=64)	High (N=125)	Total (N=189)
	Percent		
11 years or less	58	25	36
12 years or more	42	75	64
TOTAL	100	100	100

*Low includes finish high school or less; High includes some college or more.

$X^2 = 20.03$ df = 1 P < .001

Table 53. Educational Attainment of Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, by Educational Expectations

Educational Attainment	Educational Expectations		
	Low* (N=56)	High (N=97)	Total (N=153)
	Percent		
11 years or less	46	20	29
12 years or more	54	80	71
TOTAL	100	100	100

*Low includes "finish high school" or less; High includes "some college" or more

$X^2 = 12.32$ df = 1 P <.001

Table 54. Educational Attainment of Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, by Occupational Aspirations

Educational Attainment	Occupational Aspirations			
	Low* (N=40)	High (N=42)	Don't know (N=71)	Total (N=153)
	Percent			
11 years or less	45	21	25	29
12 years or more	55	79	75	71
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

*Low includes "craftsmen, foremen; and operative," "service," "Private household; farm laborer; laborer," and "Farmers and farm managers;" High includes "Professional, technical; and managers, officials" and "clerical and kindred; and sales."

$X^2 = 6.53$ df = 2 $.02 < P < .05$

Table 55. Educational Attainment of Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, by Occupational Expectations

Educational Attainment	Occupational Expectations			
	Low* (N=11)	High (N=72)	Don't know** (N=70)	Total (N=153)
	Percent			
11 years or less	55	28	27	29
12 years or more	45	72	73	71
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

*Low includes "fair," "poor," and "no chance;" High includes "excellent" and "good."

**Excluded from chi-square analysis.

$X^2 = 3.44$ df = 1 $.05 < P < .10$

Table 56. Present (Or Last) Occupational Status of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status.

Occupational Status	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=345)	Marginal (N=404)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in Poverty (N=660)	Total (N=1409)
	Percent			
Professional & managers	4	5	18	11
Farmers & farm managers	15	11	13	13
Clerical & sales	1	2	5	3
Craftsmen & operative	8	18	32	22
Private household & service except private household	4	3	5	4
Laborers	4	6	5	5
Unemployed or part-time unemployment	4	3	2	3
Housewife	20	21	4	13
Retired	24	23	11	18
Disabled	10	5	3	5
Retired and disabled	5	2	1	2
Student, military & other	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 322.24$ df = 22 P <.001

Table 57. Occupational Status of the Fathers of Household Heads by Socio-Economic Status.

Occupational Status of Household Head's Father	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious Poverty and Poverty (N=335)	Marginal (N=399)	Probably not and Definitely not poverty (N=657)	Total (N=1391)
	Percent			
Professional and managers	2	5	7	5
Farmers and farm managers	78	70	57	66
Clerical and sales	2	2	4	3
Craftsmen and operative	13	18	25	20
Service except private household	1	1	1	1
Laborers	4	4	4	4
Unemployed or part-time employment	0	0	0	0
Housewife, military, or other	0	0	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 59.43$ df = 14 $P < .001$

Table 58. Occupational Status of Migrant Children, Just Prior to Migration, by Socio-Economic Status

Occupational Status Just Prior to Migration	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=81)	Marginal (N=78)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=176)	Total (N=335)
	Percent			
Low*	88	92	86	88
High	12	8	14	12
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

*Low includes farmers and farm managers, craftsmen, operative, private household, service, except private household, farm laborers and farm foremen, laborers, except farm and mine, student, unemployed or part-time employment, housewife, military, and retired and disabled; disabled; retired; High includes professional, managers, clerical, and sales.

$X^2 = 2.14$ $df = 2$ $.30 < P < .50$

Table 59. Occupational Status of Migrant Children, Just After Migration, by Socio-Economic Status

Occupational Status Just After Migration	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=80)	Marginal (N=76)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=178)	Total (N=334)
	Percent			
Low*	84	79	73	77
High	16	21	27	23
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

*Low includes farmers and farm managers, craftsmen, operative, private household, service, except private household, farm laborers and farm foremen, laborers, except farm and mine, student, unemployed or part-time employment, housewife, military, and retired and disabled; disabled; retired; High includes professional, managers, clerical, and sales.

$X^2 = 3.80$ df = 2 $.10 < P < .20$

Table 60. Present Occupational Status of Migrant Children by Socio-Economic Status.

Present Occupational Status	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=80)	Marginal (N=77)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=176)	Total (N=333)
	Percent			
Low*	89	78	70	77
High	11	22	30	23
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

*Low included farmers and farm managers, craftsmen, operative, private household, service, except private household, farm laborers and farm foremen, laborers, except farm and mine, student, unemployed or part-time employment, housewife, military, and retired and disabled; disabled; retired; High includes professional, managers, clerical, and sales.

$X^2 = 10.36$ df = 2 $.001 < P < .01$

Table 61. Present Occupational Status of Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, by Socio-Economic Status.

Present Occupational Status	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=79)	Marginal (N=51)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty (N=54)	Total (N=184)
	Percent			
Low*	86	86	74	83
High	14	14	26	17
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

*Low includes farmers and farm managers, craftsmen, operative, private household, service, except private household, farm laborers and farm foremen, laborers, except farm and mine, student, unemployed or part-time employment, housewife, military, and retired and disabled; disabled; retired; High includes professional, managers, clerical, and sales.

$X^2 = 3.88$ df = 2 $.10 < P < .20$

Table 62. Present Occupational Status of Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, by Educational Need

Present Occupational Status	Educational Need: 12 Years or Less (N=63)	Some college or more (N=120)	Total (N=183)
	Percent		
Low*	86	81	83
High	14	19	17
TOTAL	100	100	100

*Low includes farmers and farm managers, craftsmen, operative, private household, service, except private household, farm laborers and farm foremen, laborers, except farm and mine, student, unemployed or part-time employment, housewife, military, and retired and disabled; disabled; retired; High includes professional, managers, clerical, and sales.

$X^2 = 0.68$ df = 1 $.30 < P < .50$

Table 63. Present Occupational Attainment of Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, by Educational Attainment.

Present Occupational Status	Educational Attainment		
	11 years or less (N=66)	12 years of more (N=117)	Total (N=183)
	Percent		
Low*	95	75	83
High	5	25	17
TOTAL	100	100	100

*Low includes farmers and farm managers, craftsmen, operative, private household, service, except private household, farm laborers and farm foremen, laborers, except farm and mine, student, unemployed or part-time employment, housewife, military, and retired and disabled; disabled; retired; High includes professional, managers, clerical, and sales.

$X^2 = 11.98$ df = 1 $P < .001$

Table 64. Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility of Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, by Socio-Economic Status.

Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility	Socio-Economic Status			
	Serious poverty and Poverty (N=85)	Marginal (N=46)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in Poverty (N=81)	Total* (N=212)
	Percent			
Downward-1, Downward-2	5 (4)	7 (3)	10 (8)	7 (15)
Stable	8 (7)	15 (7)	27 (22)	17 (36)
Upward-1	45 (38)	39 (18)	32 (26)	39 (82)
Upward-2	42 (36)	39 (18)	31 (25)	37 (79)
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$x^2 = 13.68$ df = 6 $.02 < P < .05$

*There is one entry in the table for each father-son relationship; for example, if a given household had 2 sons, there were 2 entries in the Table.

Table 65. Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility of Migrant Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, by Educational Need.

Educational Need	Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility			
	Stable (N=16)**	Upward-1 (N=34)**	Upward-2 (N=34)	Total* (N=84)
	Percent			
12 years or less	44 (7)	32 (11)	35 (12)	36 (30)
Some college or more	56 (9)	68 (23)	65 (22)	64 (54)
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 0.00$ df = 1 $.90 < P < .95$

* There were four other cases of "downward" occupational mobility. One of these was in the "12 years or less" category and three others were in the "Some college or more" category.

**Combined for chi-square analysis.

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APPENDIX

Table I. Socio-Economic Status by Current Monthly Net Income of Job of Household Heads.

Monthly Net Income	Socio-Economic Status					
	Serious Poverty (N=30)	Poverty (N=121)	Marginal (N=225)	Probably Not in Poverty (N=255)	Definitely Not in Poverty (N=286)	Total (N=917)
	Percent					
$ 0 - 50	30	17	5	5	3	7
51 -100	33	39	20	8	4	14
101 -200	17	25	25	12	6	15
201 -300	10	12	23	27	10	18
301 -400	--	3	21	24	18	18
401 -500	7	2	5	15	27	14
501 -600	--	2	1	5	11	6
601 -700	--	--	--	2	7	3
701 -800	--	--	--	1	5	2
801 -900	--	--	--	--	5	2
901 -1000	3	--	--	1	1	0
1001 & over	--	--	--	--	3	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table II. Socio-Economic Status by Current Monthly Net Income of Job of Spouses of Household Heads

Monthly Net Income	Socio-Economic Status					
	Serious Poverty[a]	Poverty (N=15)	Marginal (N=33)	Probably Not in Poverty (N=55)	Definitely Not in Poverty (N=87)	Total (N=190)
	Percent					
$ 0 - 50	--	13	6	--	5	4
51 - 100	--	47	24	15	7	15
101 - 200	--	33	49	49	37	42
201 - 300	--	7	12	27	24	22
301 - 400	--	--	9	7	15	11
401 - 500	--	--	--	2	4	3
501 - 600	--	--	--	--	6	3
601 - 700	--	--	--	--	1	0
701 - 800	--	--	--	--	1	0
801 - 900	--	--	--	--	--	--
901 -1000	--	--	--	--	--	--
1001 & over	--	--	--	--	--	--
TOTAL		100	100	100	100	100

[a] % not reported because N < 10

Table III. Summary of the Organizational Membership of Household Heads and Spouses

Type of Organizational Membership	Household Heads (N=1413)	Spouses (N=1105)
	Percent	
Church		
Yes	64[a]	74
No	36	26
Total	100	100
Church Group		
Yes	9	16
No	91	84
Total	100	100
Civic Club		
Yes	3	1
No	97	99
Total	100	100
Rotary		
Yes	1[a]	1[b]
No	99	99
Total	100	100
Lodge		
Yes	11	4
No	89	96
Total	100	100
Labor Union		
Yes	13[a]	4[b]
No	87	96
Total	100	100
Farm Organization		
Yes	8	6[b]
No	92	94
Total	100	100
Political		
Yes	6	6
No	94	94
Total	100	100
Community or neighborhood club		
Yes	4	9[c]
No	96	91
Total	100	100
Veterans		
Yes	7	2
No	93	98
Total	100	100
"Other"		
Yes	9[a]	9[d]
No	91	91
Total	100	100

[a] N = 1412 [b] N = 1104 [c] N = 1103 [d] N = 1107

Table IV. Summary of the Organizational Attendance of Household Heads and Spouses

Type and Frequency of Organizational Attendance	Household Heads (N = 1413)	Spouses (N = 1105)
	Percent	
Church Attendance		
Never	19	12
Rarely	14	13
Occasionally	20	20
Fairly often	8	8
Frequently or regularly	39	47
Total	100	100
Church Group		
Never	89	82
Rarely	1	1
Occasionally	2	3
Fairly often	1	1
Frequently or regularly	7	13
Total	100	100
Civic Club		
Never	96	99
Rarely	1	1
Occasionally	1	--
Fairly often	--	--
Frequently or regularly	2	--
Total	100	100
Rotary		
Never	99	99
Rarely	1	1
Occasionally	--	--
Fairly often	--	--
Frequently or regularly	--	--
Total	100	100
Lodge		
Never	90	96[b]
Rarely	2	1
Occasionally	3	2
Fairly often	1	--
Frequently or regularly	4	1
Total	100	100
Labor Union		
Never	90	96
Rarely	3	1
Occasionally	2	1
Fairly often	1	--
Frequently or regularly	4	2
Total	100	100
Farm Organization		
Never	93	96
Rarely	2	1
Occasionally	3	1
Fairly often	--	--
Frequently or regularly	2	2
Total	100	100

Table IV cont'd.

Political Meetings		
Never	96	97
Rarely	1	1
Occasionally	1	1
Fairly often	--	--
Frequently or regularly	2	1
Total	100	100
Community or neighborhood clubs		
Never	96	90
Rarely	--	--
Occasionally	1	1
Fairly often	--	1
Frequently or regularly	3	8
Total	100	100
Veteran meeting		
Never	96	98
Rarely	2	1
Occasionally	1	1
Fairly often	--	--
Frequently or regularly	1	--
Total	100	100
Other		
Never	92[a]	90[c]
Rarely	1	1
Occasionally	1	2
Fairly often	--	1
Frequently or regularly	6	6
Total	100	100

[a] N = 1412 [b] N = 1104 [c] N = 1107

Table V. Summary of the Organizational Committee Membership of Household Heads and Spouses

Type of Organizational Committee Membership	Household Heads (N = 1413)	Spouses (N = 1105)
	Percent	
Church		
Yes	10[a]	9
No	90	91
Total	100	100
Church group		
Yes	3	5
No	97	95
Total	100	100
Civic club		
Yes	1[a]	--
No	99	100
Total	100	100
Rotary		
Yes	--[a]	--[b]
No	100	100
Total	100	100
Lodge		
Yes	1	--[b]
No	99	100
Total	100	100
Labor union		
Yes	--	--
No	100	100
Total	100	100
Farm organization		
Yes	1	--[b]
No	99	100
Total	100	100
Political		
Yes	1	1
No	99	99
Total	100	100
Community or neighborhood club		
Yes	1[a]	3
No	99	97
Total	100	100
Veterans		
Yes	1	--
No	99	100
Total	100	100
"Other"		
Yes	1[a]	1[c]
No	99	99
Total	100	100

[a] N = 1412 [b] N = 1104 [c] N = 1107

Table VI. Summary of the Organizational Offices Held by Household Heads and Spouses

Type of Organizational Office Held	Household Heads (N = 1413)	Spouses (N = 1105)
	Percent	
Church		
Yes	14[a]	13
No	86	87
Total	100	100
Church Group		
Yes	3	5
No	97	95
Total	100	100
Civic Club		
Yes	1	--
No	99	100
Total	100	100
Rotary		
Yes	--[a]	--[c]
No	100	100
Total	100	100
Lodge		
Yes	2[a]	1
No	98	99
Total	100	100
Labor Union		
Yes	--	--[c]
No	100	100
Total	100	100
Farm Organization		
Yes	1[a]	--
No	99	100
Total	100	100
Political		
Yes	1[b]	--[d]
No	99	100
Total	100	100
Community or Neighborhood club		
Yes	1	3
No	99	97
Total	100	100
Veterans		
Yes	1	--[e]
No	99	100
Total	100	100
"Other"		
Yes	--[b]	2[e]
No	100	98
Total	100	100

[a] N = 1412 [b] N = 1400 [c] N = 1104 [d] N = 1108 [e] N = 110

Table VII. Summary of the Informal Group Activity of Household Heads and Spouses

Type and Frequency of Informal Group Activity	Household Heads (N = 1413)	Spouses (N = 1106)
	Percent	
Attend Fairs		
Never	41	34
Rarely	15	15
Occasionally	18	21
Fairly often	6	6
Frequently or regularly	20	24
Total	100	100
Listen to Radio and/or Watch Television		
Never	2	1
Rarely	2	2
Occasionally	8	6
Fairly often	8	8
Frequently or regularly	80	83
Total	100	100
Visit Friends or Relatives		
Never	1[a]	1[c]
Rarely	6	5
Occasionally	23	21
Fairly often	21	22
Frequently or regularly	49	51
Total	100	100
Read Newspaper		
Never	12[a]	8
Rarely	6	6
Occasionally	11	10
Fairly often	9	9
Frequently or regularly	62	67
Total	100	100
Go to Movies		
Never	72	66
Rarely	17	21
Occasionally	8	10
Fairly often	2	2
Frequently or regularly	1	1
Total	100	100
Go Dancing		
Never	91	89
Rarely	4	6
Occasionally	4	4
Fairly often	-	-
Frequently or regularly	1	1
Total	100	100
Visit and talk on phone		
Never	45[b]	31[d]
Rarely	17	12
Occasionally	17	21
Fairly often	9	11
Frequently or regularly	12	25
Total	100	100

Table VII cont'd

Attend Formal Sports Events		
Never	61[a]	59[d]
Rarely	8	8
Occasionally	12	13
Fairly often	4	4
Frequently or regularly	15	16
Total	100	100
Use Public Recreation Facilities		
Never	42	36
Rarely	14	14
Occasionally	23	26
Fairly often	11	12
Frequently or regularly	10	12
Total	100	100
Go Bowling		
Never	92	91
Rarely	3	3
Occasionally	2	3
Fairly often	1	1
Frequently or regularly	2	2
Total	100	100
Go Hunting or Fishing		
Never	36	50
Rarely	8	9
Occasionally	17	15
Fairly often	10	8
Frequently or regularly	29	18
Total	100	100
Go Golfing		
Never	97	99[c]
Rarely	1	1
Occasionally	1	-
Fairly often	-	-
Frequently or regularly	1	-
Total	100	100
Attend other activities		
Yes	81[b]	78[e]
No	19	22
Total	100	100

[a] N = 1412 [b] N = 1411 [c] N = 1105 [d] N = 1104 [e] N = 1113

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